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	1	(Proceedings heard in open court:)
	2	THE CLERK: 12 CR 632, United States versus Abraham
	3	Brown, Kenneth Taylor, Alfred Washington, Duane Jones and
	4	Christopher Davis, and 12 CR 887, United States versus Antonio
10:33:45	5	Williams, John Hummons and Howard Lee.
	6	MS. KASTANEK: Good morning.
	7	THE COURT: Good morning.
	8	MS. KASTANEK: Good morning, your Honor. Andrianna
	9	Kastanek, Matt Kutcher and Phil Fluhr on behalf of the United
10:33:55	10	States.
	11	MS. SIEGLER: Good morning, your Honor. Alison
	12	Siegler and Erica Zunkel appearing on behalf of both
	13	Mr. Hummons and Mr. Washington.
	14	MR. SHOBAT: Good morning, your Honor. Steven Shobat
10:34:02	15	on behalf of Alfred Washington who's present in court, Judge.
	16	MR. SALTZMAN: Good morning, Judge. Steven Saltzman
	17	on behalf of John Hummons.
	18	MS. JACKSON: Good morning, your Honor. Candace
	19	Jackson, Federal Defender Program, along with Dan Hesler for
10:34:13	20	Abraham Brown and then appearing myself for Antonio Williams.
	21	MR. FALCONER: Good morning, Judge.
	22	THE COURT: Good morning.
	23	MR. FALCONER: Michael Falconer for Kenneth Taylor.
	24	MR. COLLINS: Good morning, your Honor. Gerald
10:34:20	25	Collins on behalf of Dwaine Jones.

1 THE COURT: Okay. This matter is set for a ruling. 2 Before I rule, is there anything you want to say? 3 MS. SIEGLER: No, your Honor. 4 THE COURT: Okay. Then I'm going to ask everybody to 5 be seated, and I do want to explain the procedures for issuing 10:34:32 6 this ruling because I know there is some public interest in 7 this ruling. So in a few minutes, I'm going to lock or ask 8 the marshals to lock that courthouse door. 9 So if anybody wants to leave, they're free to do so 10 in the next couple of minutes. Other than that, you're going 10:35:03 11 to be captive for a few minutes, and the reason I'm doing that 12 is I don't want anybody to be rushing out of here to try and 13 break any type of story. I can assure you that we will have 14 copies of this ruling for everyone. 15 So with that understanding, if anybody wants to 10:35:23 16 leave, now is the time to leave. 17 It is time to rule in this case. 18 presided over this case for quite some time. By my 19 calculation, it's been about six years, and I want to explain 20 a couple of things for the general public. 10:35:44 21 This case, these two cases, were randomly assigned to 22 me as a District Court Judge. It just happens that since the 23 time these cases were randomly assigned to me, I have assumed 24 the position of Chief Judge, but being Chief Judge has nothing 25 to do with presiding over these cases. 10:36:06

Each of these cases that are pending before me and my colleagues are the product of a random assignment system, and each of these cases might result in different rulings. My effort is merely to try and move the ball along in these delayed cases. It just happens that I believe I will be the first judge to rule on what is pending before me. It's not being done because I'm the Chief Judge and other judges are waiting for me. I think it has more to do with the fact that I'm fortunate enough not to be assigned new criminal cases since the time that I became Chief Judge almost five years ago, in 2013.

What that means is why are these two cases pending so long? I will talk about that in an instant.

It is these two cases, and it happens together with another criminal case involving the alleged drug conspiracy involving a pretty famous defendant, Chapo Guzman, that are my remaining criminal cases.

Having said that, I think it's important for the members of the public to understand that each judge brings their life experience to bear in each case, and when it comes to criminal justice experience, my life experience goes back to 1974. By my calculation, although I hate to admit this every day I look in the mirror, that is some 44 years ago.

So 44 years ago, I walked into a courtroom at 26th and California as a college sophomore and started serving in

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1 the state court system as a deputy clerk. In that capacity, I 2 served through my completion of my undergraduate studies in 3 this city at Loyola University, which is having its moment of 4 fame this week, and then continued to work full-time at 26th 5 and California and at 11th and State while I completed my 6 education at Northwestern Law School. 7 At Northwestern Law School, again, criminal law 8 seemed to follow me when I served on the Journal of Criminal 9 Law and Criminology.

> I then joined the law firm of Jenner & Block, where the first case that I ever tried was as a defense attorney, defending a young African American male on murder charges at I'm happy to say that even though we 26th and California. lost that trial, we prevailed at the appellate level. And from there, after doing a number of criminal cases as a defense attorney, I joined the U.S. Attorney's Office, where I served from 1984 to 1988.

> Probably what people unfortunately most remember me for is for asserting myself in the war on drugs, and in that capacity, I sent many minority defendants to jail, including one minority defendant who happened to be of Colombian background who actually put a murder contract on me. And I can tell you that I survived that ordeal because of undercover agents who were serving as fake hit men who were going to put the hit on me.

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1 So I've had a lot of different experiences. 2 In 1994, I was appointed to this court by President 3 Clinton. In 1999, President Clinton again sought to use my 4 criminal justice experience and appointed me the vice chair of 5 the United States Sentencing Commission. The rest you can 10:40:31 6 look up. 7 I'm now going to read the first few pages of my 8 I normally don't do this, but I will do it in this 9 case because I think these cases are extraordinary.

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"Since 2006, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives, the ATF, has engaged in sting operations wherein undercover agents present individuals in this District with an opportunity to rob a fictitious drug stash house." See generally *United States v. Mayfield*, *United States v. Lewis*. Both of those are Seventh Circuit cases.

"These two long-pending consolidated criminal cases, which are part of what is commonly referred to as the 'false stash house cases,' have served to undermine legitimate law enforcement efforts in this country. It is undisputed that between 2006 and 2013, the defendants charged in this District in the ATF false stash house cases were 78.7 black,

9.6 percent Hispanic, and 11.7 percent white. During this same period, the District's adult population was approximately 18 percent black, 11 percent Hispanic, and 63 percent white. These numbers generate great disrespect for law enforcement

Disrespect for the law simply cannot be tolerated during these difficult times. It is time for these false stash house cases to end and be relegated to the dark corridors of our past. To put it simply, our criminal justice system should not tolerate false stash house cases in 2018.

"No one feels stronger than this Court about the problems this District has continuously had with firearm During this Court's three decades of public service, it has consistently pointed out and stressed the deadly toll firearms have taken in Chicago and throughout the In fact, during this Court's 11 years of service on country. the United States Sentencing Commission, it strongly advocated for and accomplished the strengthening of penalties for firearm trafficking.

"This Court understands that dedicated federal agents who often place themselves in life-risking situations sincerely believed that they would recover deadly firearms from the violent streets of our District in these stash house sting operations. However, to paraphrase Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, to declare that in the administration of criminal law 'the end justifies the means' is to declare that the government may violate fundamental principles of common fairness to secure the conviction of an alleged This is not where our criminal law should be in 2018. Our society simply cannot accept a 'win at all costs'

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mentality in the delicate world of criminal law enforcement, which is ultimately dependent on proactive citizen involvement.

"Our nation's current tragic pattern of weapons violence does not justify the problematic consequences presented by the government's use of false stash house cases as an investigative technique. The answer to our nation's current tragic pattern of weapons violence lies in stricter firearms regulations, especially with respect to automatic, multi-round weapons and traditional law enforcement investigative techniques. This Court is mindful that the city just passed the 89th anniversary of the infamous St. Valentine's Day massacre, which killed seven Chicagoans with automatic weapon fire, yet even during the low points of the great violence caused by the alcohol wars of Prohibition, the ATF did not seek to use 'false alcohol warehouse' tactics against any ethnic organized crime groups to promote public Instead, the ATF used solid investigative work to garner the great public respect of the Elliot Ness era that still lives today as the gold standard of law enforcement. This type of work inspires great public cooperation with law enforcement, unlike the false drug stash houses cases before the Court.

"The problems with false stash house cases start at the beginning and do not get any better at the end. The

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typical false stash house case commences with the recruitment of a confidential informant, or CI. Most of the time, these are individuals with criminal justice problems. In today's world, they tend to be black or Hispanic, two groups that unfortunately dominate both our federal and local American criminal justice systems. These principally minority confidential informants are told by federal agents to tell their friends and associates that there are places with a large quantity of drugs that can be robbed. The hope is that the informants will organize robbery groups that will result in significant arrests of violent criminals and seizure of weapons. Sometimes these cases work out in that fashion. However, all too often, the government's lucrative trap attracts potential defendants with minor criminal records who might otherwise have never attempted a fictitious crime of It is no surprise that many of these potential this nature. defendants with minor criminal records are also minorities, like their so-called confidential informant friends and associates. At the end, many of the defendants face Sentencing Guideline ranges that have been significantly inflated by the government's false drug house scenarios. See United States v. Washington, Third Circuit case, remanding for potential post-judgment discovery to challenge a 264-month sentence in a fictitious cocaine robbery scenario that triggered a very real 20-year mandatory minimum sentence. The Washington case in particular is representative of a broad point of view held by judges who are held in high esteem by this Court. For example, Judge Theodore McKee, the former Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, has pointedly noted that 'the potential for abuse and mischief that is endemic to fictitious stash house stings should not be ignored.' Judge McKee specifically noted that 'as is all too often the case, not only do stash house stings risk ensnaring those who might otherwise not have committed crimes, but also the resulting convictions regularly give rise to particularly dubious applications of the Sentencing Guidelines and mandatory minimum sentences.'

"The inherent problems of this District's false stash

house cases must be seen through the lens of our country's sad history of racism. Every time our country's law enforcement system can be perceived as contributing to that sad history, our justice system suffers and needlessly alienates minority communities who no longer wish to come forward as witnesses or victims. This Court spent more than ten years working as a member of the United States Sentencing Commission before it could reduce the needless disparity between the penalties for crack and powder cocaine, which were correctly revised because they were perceived as discriminatory toward black defendants. This country cannot afford such self-inflicted wounds in light of its sad history of racism. Viewed in this context, the

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false stash house cases are no different than the extraordinary powder/crack sentencing disparities that previously existed.

"In these two cases, defendants moved to dismiss the indictments filed against them on grounds of racial profiling, arguing that ATF wrongly targeted black and Hispanic individuals for participation in the stings. These cases are deeply troubling and emblematic of problems that have plagued our criminal justice system for decades. As this Court recognized nearly two decades ago, racial profiling -- 'Racial profiling of any kind is anothema to our criminal justice system because it eviscerates the core integrity that is necessary to operate that system effectively in our diverse democracy.'" Quoting from the case that I had of Martinez v. Village of Mt. Prospect. "These words carry as much force today as they did nearly two decades ago. These sting operations have used tremendous public resources to investigate and prosecute a large number of principally minority individuals for fictitious crimes. 'In this era of mass incarceration in which we already lock up more of our population than any other nation on earth, it is especially curious that the government feels compelled to invent fake crimes and imprison people for long periods of time for agreeing to participate in them.' There I'm quoting from United States v. Black, a Ninth Circuit case decided in 2014.

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"Over and over again, these 'tawdry' stings have been 'directed at unsophisticated, and perhaps desperate defendants ... who easily take the all-too-tempting bait put out for them by the government.'" Quoting from *United States v. Conley*, Seventh Circuit, 2017.

"Like our colleague in the United States Court of

Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, this Court finds 'the concept of these'" sting house -- "'these stash house sting operations at odds with the pride we take in presenting American criminal justice'" system -- "'American criminal justice as a system that treats defendants fairly and equally under the law.'" Quoting from \*United States v. Flowers. "It is unclear to the Court why, with all the tactics available to them, federal law enforcement agents would adopt a narrative tinged with racial overtones to conduct sting operations involving serious federal crime charges. Even if law enforcement agents stay on the right side of the line, this is dangerous territory. It hardly needs to be stated that agents of the federal government should not be injecting the issue of race into their criminal investigation in any way, shape, or form.

"Fortunately for the government, the question before this Court is not whether the practices used in these sting operations are honorable or fair. Instead, the sole question presented to the Court in these cases is whether law enforcement agents violated the Due Process Clause of the

	1	Fifth Amendment in pursuing these investigations. At first
	2	blush, the evidence submitted by defendants, including the
	3	sheer number of nonwhite individuals prosecuted as a result of
	4	the sting operations, presents troublesome indicia of
10:53:45	5	discrimination. But this Court is not permitted to simply
	6	accept matters at first blush. The Court must dig deeper to
	7	test the reliability and weight of the evidence that has been
	8	submitted. In so doing, the Court concludes that the
	9	defendants have failed to meet the heavy burden that currently
10:54:07	10	must be satisfied to obtain dismissal of a federal criminal
	11	indictment. Therefore, the motions to dismiss must be
	12	reluctantly denied."
	13	And with that, I'm going to pause, and I'm going to
	14	ask my staff to pass out copies of this 73-page opinion.
10:55:11	15	(Pause.)
	16	THE COURT: And we will make copies available to
	17	everybody else in the courtroom as soon as I'm done, which is
	18	going to be about ten minutes or less.
	19	I'm not going to read the rest of the opinion. I
10:55:21	20	appreciate the indulgence of reading the first five-and-a-half
	21	pages.
	22	What I am going to do is try and explain what follows
	23	in the opinion. Pages 6 all the way through Page 15 just
	24	lay out the facts of the case as the Court found them.

Page 15 all the way through 18 explains how I

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presided over the discovery proceedings that occurred in this case.

And I will pause there and say it is my calculation that this Court has given more discovery to the defense on this issue than any other court has ever given the defense, not only in this District but, by my calculation, in the United States.

Page 19 in particular, I would point out to those lay people in the audience lays out the difficult standard that must be met to obtain dismissal of an indictment. Dismissal of an indictment is a very difficult thing to accomplish. my almost 24 years on the bench, I've only had one indictment that I have ever dismissed. I'm not fearful of dismissing an indictment, but it is my determination that the standards just have not been met, and as I point out on Page 19, "A claim of selective prosecution is governed by ordinary equal protection standards. To establish an equal protection violation in this context, the defendant must demonstrate that the administration of the criminal law was directed so exclusively against a particular class of persons ... with a mind so unequal and oppressive that the system of prosecution amounts to a practical denial of equal protection of the law." The defendant must come forward with clear evidence showing that the decision to prosecute had two things: 1, a discriminatory effect, and, No. 2, that it was motivated by a discriminatory

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Now, I know that the defendants disagree with the standard that I am using. I point out at Page 21 of the opinion that the defense asked me to apply a lesser standard than clear and convincing evidence, of one of a preponderance of the evidence. It is my conclusion under my analysis of the law as a District Court Judge who gets no special privileges for being Chief Judge, that that is not the right standard, that the clear right standard at this point in time, given the state of the law, is one that requires a clear, harder standard of proof than one of mere preponderance of the evidence. And in that sense, the opinion speaks for itself.

The next thing I'm going to point out in the opinion is there is coverage of the testimony of the two experts that testified before our panel of judges. I do want to commend I also want to commend the attorneys in this both experts. case. The lawyering in this case has been nothing but first rate. The experts in this case have been first rate. essentially, aside from some of the problems I outlined with Dr. Fagan's testimony, it almost basically is a tie in terms of the expert evidence presented here, but in this case, because the defense has the burden of proof, and a hard burden of proof, that is why Dr. Fagan's testimony as it is with the problems that it has doesn't accomplish the dismissal of both indictments that the defendants are seeking.

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The other thing that I want to explain is the defendants' request for further discovery, and I address that in the last part of the opinion. And the Court will simply reiterate again, I've given the defense the benefit of many discovery rulings.

A lot of these discovery rulings were with the government kicking and screaming. A lot of these discovery rulings were with the Illinois State Police coming in here and protesting. I think I have carefully followed the Seventh Circuit's Davis opinion, the Third Circuit's opinion in Washington, and no further discovery is necessary. In fact, the defense two sessions ago conceded that they were ready for the Court's ruling without further discovery. But I'm not relying on that. I believe I got the discovery issues right in this case. Maybe some other court will disagree.

So the last part that I'm going to read and then we will conclude these proceedings is the conclusion on Page 73.

"These delayed criminal cases must come to a conclusion soon. Defendants' attorneys raise serious, difficult issues that relate to the continuous historic tension our country's criminal law enforcement procedures have had with our country's racially diverse community. The future of these cases is squarely within the discretion of our new U.S. Attorney. This Court can only point out its concerns in this opinion and proceed to set priority trial dates in these

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	1	two long delayed cases."
	2	Both cases will be set for status hearings on
	3	March 21st, 2018 at 10:30 in the morning for the express
	4	purpose of setting both cases for jury trials in the near
11:02:21	5	future, and both cases will get expedited jury trial dates
	6	from this Court, so bring your calendar books. That's all I
	7	can ask.
	8	This Court will exclude time from today's date until
	9	March 21st, 2018, when I fully intend to set both cases for
11:02:42	10	trial.
	11	Now we will unlock the courthouse doors. I would ask
	12	the media that if you want some comment from the attorneys,
	13	which this Court has no problems from, I think fairness
	14	dictates that you give them some time to digest this Court's
11:03:02	15	73-page opinion, and then perhaps they will see you as they
	16	will on their own arrange in the appropriate media area that
	17	our court provides in the lobby of this federal courthouse.
	18	This Court stands in recess. Thank you.
	19	(Which were all the proceedings heard.)
	20	CERTIFICATE
	21	I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from
	22	the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.
	23	/s/Kathleen M. Fennell April 12, 2018
	24	Kathleen M. Fennell Date
	25	Official Court Reporter